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ABSTRACT

This study examined the hostile responses of adolescent African American males to acts of racial discrimination as a function of audience presence, noting attributions of personal control. Participants were 250 male African American students in grades 9-12 in an urban multiethnic high school who completed the Discrimination Response Index (DRI). The DRI measured three types of responses to acts of discrimination (passive, active, and hostile) in one particular situation (at a shopping mall) with three audience conditions (when the target was alone, with his best friend, and with a romantic friend). The DRI consisted of three hypothetical scenarios involving acts of racial discrimination against African Americans shopping at stores in a mall. In each story, a security guard accused a young African American male of stealing something. Participants also completed the Revised Causal Dimension Scale, which assessed dimensions of stability, locus, personal control, and external control. Data analysis indicated that audience condition and perceived personal control related to respondents' interpretation of racial discrimination and issues of self-presentation and impression management. In situations where someone was present, low perceived control participants were more likely than those with high perceived control to endorse hostile responses. (Contains 84 references.) (SM)

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African American Male Adolescents' Hostile Responses to Perceived Racial Discrimination

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African American Male Adolescents' Hostile Responses to Perceived Racial Discrimination

Not long into this century, ethnic minority residents in all major urban centers (e.g., Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Boston, Oakland, Seattle, Atlanta, Washington, DC) will equal or outnumber their European American counterparts (Gardner, 1996a, 1996b). Further, communities across America, both urban and suburban, are already far less likely to represent ethnic or racial enclaves than was once true. Legally mandated desegregation and an expanding economy have created communities that, while still typically rigidly and segregated by class, are increasingly racially and ethnically diverse (Educational Research Service, 1995; U.S. Census Bureau, 1990a). Increased ethnic diversity means that members of local communities must now regularly interact across racial and ethnic lines in their daily lives. Such increases in inter-ethnic contact also provide increased opportunities for discrimination.

Racial discrimination, or the active or behavioral expression of racism, is defined here as denying members of certain racial groups equal access to scarce and valued resources (Cashmore, 1996), both material and social. This definition can easily be applied to discrimination on the basis of ethnicity as well. While all racial and ethnic minorities continue to be frequent targets of discrimination (Erkut, 1990; Gary, 1995; Hacker, 1992; Sigelman & Welch, 1991), African Americans tend to experience the highest rates of discrimination from all ethnic groups (Mont-Reynaud, 1990; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Further, young people in particular often confront racial or ethnic discrimination as a regular part of their daily lives (Braddock, Dawkins, & Wilson, 1995; Nieto, 1992; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Wakefield &

Hudley, 1997). For example, Black college students were turned away from a familiar chain restaurant by white employees who told them that the restaurant was closed, but white students entering after that interaction were seated and served (Los Angeles Times, 1993b). Another restaurant chain has been repeatedly cited for requiring Black adolescents to pre-pay for their orders and subjecting them to extremely long waits not experienced by white customers (Los Angeles Times, 1993a, 1993b).

Cultural Pluralism and Relations in Schools

Multicultural or culturally pluralistic settings are often considered a panacea for the development of positive racial and ethnic relations. Yet the reality of racial discrimination is often overlooked when considering the benefits of culturally diverse communities. Cultural pluralism is defined as a pattern of social relations in which groups that are distinct from each other in a great many respects share a common set of institutions and some aspects of a common culture (Cashmore, 1996). Cultural pluralism occurs when various ethnic groups' cultures are equally valued and coexist in the context of a larger society. In contrast, when cultures are unequally valued, ethnic and racial discrimination are often directed toward members of low-status groups (Brown, 1995). Currently in the United States, true cultural pluralism rarely, if ever, exists. Therefore it is unsurprising that legal desegregation and the creation of integrated or multicultural environments is unable by itself to bring about harmonious racial and ethnic relations.

School settings are an especially telling context for understanding interactions among ethnic groups. Although many schools have become more ethnically diverse over time, they

typically remain divided. Numerous studies (Feagin & Sikes, 1995; Duster, 1991; Magner, 1990) have found that university students tend to self-segregate by ethnic group into cliques and enclaves. Less research has investigated this phenomenon in middle schools and high schools; however, self-segregation exists in these settings as well (Tatum, 1997). Research revisiting Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis consistently suggests that simple contact between members of different ethnic groups often leads to negative attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors directed to outgroup members (Pettigrew, 1988; Stephan, 1987). Thus, the act of desegregating schools may have created yet another context in which young people may encounter racial and ethnic discrimination.

Responses to Discrimination

Understanding the psychological and physical consequences for those who endure racial discrimination requires examining how people respond to and cope with such behavior (Krieger, 1990; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). For example, Krieger (1990) found that African American adults who responded to discrimination by "holding in their frustration" and "keeping quiet" suffered four times the rate of hypertension compared to individuals who took a stand against the discriminatory treatment. Research has just begun to examine the potential consequences of discrimination among young people in a similar fashion. Thus we have limited knowledge of how racial and ethnic discrimination affect the psychological well-being and development of ethnic minority children. For example, constant exposure to discrimination overall is related to lower levels of self-esteem in adolescents (Phinney & Chavira, 1995).

Initial work with adults by Feagin and colleagues (Feagin, 1991; Feagin & Sikes, 1994)

postulated four distinct types of responses to discrimination (withdrawal, resigned acceptance, verbal, and physical confrontation). These included withdrawing from the situation of discrimination, ignoring the discrimination while continuing the interaction, verbally challenging the discrimination, and physically responding to the discrimination. However, these categories were heavily laden with evaluative judgments. Building on the work of Feagin, Phinney & Chavira (1995) have formulated an empirically derived typology of adolescents' responses to racial discrimination. Their ethnic minority adolescent participants endorsed passive, active, or aggressive strategies to respond to racial discrimination. An active response challenges the act of discrimination in an assertive, non-hostile manner, somewhat consistent with Feagin's verbal response. An aggressive response is one of hostility that may include physical threat or harm to the perpetrator of the discrimination. A passive response does not address the act of discrimination in any way; this category collapses Feagin's withdrawal and resigned acceptance categories. The typology has proven to capture important differences in the target behaviors. Adolescents who use aggressive styles tend to score lower on measures of self-esteem than adolescents using active styles (Phinney & Chavira, 1995). However, in constructing sufficiently broad, mutually exclusive categories of behavior, this typology may have sacrificed variability within response categories. For example, ignoring a discriminatory act while continuing the interaction with the perpetrator may be a qualitatively different experience from physically removing oneself from a situation involving discrimination.

Presence of others. Situational variables may influence how children deal with racial discrimination. One type of situational influence well documented in the social psychology and

sociology literatures is the presence of others on behavior (Goffman, 1954; Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Shoda, Mischel, & Wright, 1993; Zajonc, 1968). Researchers have found that the mere presence of someone often influences behavior. Furthermore, the sex of the person present also influences behavior (Mori, Chaiken, & Pliner, 1987; Pliner & Chaiken, 1990). The influence of peers may also be a powerful determinant of behavior since during adolescence, peer acceptance is often of paramount importance (Asher, Parker, & Walker, 1998; Swanson, Spencer, & Petersen, 1998).

Self presentation is defined as the use of behavior to communicate information about oneself to others. It is aimed at establishing, maintaining, or refining an image of the individual in the minds of others (Goffman, 1959; Jones & Wortman, 1973; Schlenker, 1980). The general premise of self presentation and impression management theories is that people attempt to present themselves as favorably as they can. Baumeister (1982) discusses that there are two main reasons for engaging in self presentation: pleasing the audience, and constructing one's general public self.

Goffman (1954), Jones and Wortman (1973), Juvonen and Murdock (1995) and Schlenker (1980) found that most people want to have others to think highly of them--a need that inevitably influences behavior when others are present. Juvonen and Murdock (1995) found that often middle school students want peers to think that they do not study hard. This finding illustrates that middle school students are likely influenced by how they are evaluated by their peers because high academic achievement is often not respected among peer groups. Juvonen

(1996) found that adolescents are invested in issues of self presentation to facilitate peer approval and acceptance.

One factor that may influence self presentational strategies is the type of relationship between an individual and the person present. Individuals who are in the presence of a romantic or cross-sex partner may use different self presentational strategies present from an individual with a non-romantic partner or same-sex partner. Dolgin and Minowa (1997) and Leary, Nezlek, Downs, Radford-Davenport, et al. (1994) found that adolescents' self presentational motives were lower in same-sex interactions than that of cross-sex interactions. Male adolescents were more concerned with how they were perceived by females than males; similarly, females were more concerned with how they were perceived by males than females. Mori, Chaiken, and Pliner (1987), and Pliner and Chaiken (1990) found that males and females eating behavior was dependent on the sex of the person eating with them. Males and females ate less when in the company of a member of the opposite sex. These studies supports the notion that individuals may behave differently when in the presence of males and females as a function of self presentation.

Similarly, one might expect that adolescents confronted with discrimination respond differently based on whether someone is with them at the time. This may be particularly true of adolescents since they are highly invested in being accepted in peer groups (Asher, Parker, & Walker, 1998; Juvonen, 1996; Swanson, Spencer, & Petersen, 1998). For example, a high school student accompanied by a date might respond differently to racial discrimination than if s/he were alone during the act of discrimination.

Attributions. Another way to understand how individuals make sense of their experiences is through causal attribution theory. An attribution occurs when an individual assigns cause to the behavior of others in a social interaction (Weiner, 1985). These causal attributions guide subsequent behavior because they facilitate decision making among possible courses of action (Kelley, 1973). Hewstone (1989), Weiner, Nierenberg, & Goldstein (1976), Weiner (1979, 1985), and Weiner & Graham (1984) describe three dimensions of causal attributions: locus, controllability, and stability. Any causal attribution can be mapped along these three dimensions. Locus refers to the location of a cause as either internal or external to the individual. Internal factors describe those causes that result from an individual's own actions; external causes are unrelated to the individual. Controllability describes whether a cause could be changed or affected by someone (Weiner, 1985). The third dimension, stability, describes whether a cause is permanent or temporary over time.

Causal attribution theory has been employed in research on emotional development (Weiner & Graham, 1984) and coping with stress (Chwalisz, Altamier, & Russell, 1992). Classic causal attribution theory has also been extensively applied in achievement motivation research on how children make sense of academic successes and failures (Weiner, 1985). In achievement situations, the student who says that he failed to sufficiently prepare for the exam would be an example of an internal, unstable (temporary), controllable attribution (i.e., effort). However, a student who says that he did poorly on the exam because of limited ability would be an example of an internal, stable, uncontrollable attribution.

Although attribution theory and research has largely focused on individual and interpersonal behavior, some researchers have identified potential applications to the study and solution of intergroup conflict (Betancourt, 1990). Assigning control to a cause of an event allows individuals to (a) gain a sense of control over their physical and social world, (b) protect self-esteem, and (c) facilitate self-presentation (see Forsyth, 1980, and Tetlock & Levi, 1982, for comprehensive reviews). In situations of racial discrimination, uncontrollable attributions may protect one's self-esteem. People who make uncontrollable attributions for discriminatory treatment feel that discrimination does not reference their qualities, but is a societal problem.

McAuley, Duncan, & Russell (1992) empirically deconstructed Weiner's (1979, 1985) control dimension into personal control and external control. They argue that the control dimension should be differentiated in terms of whether the cause is "controllable or uncontrollable *by the person*" and "controllable or uncontrollable *by other people*". Tubbs & James-Valutis (1992) validated McAuley Duncan, & Russell's (1992) finding; they found that reliability estimates were significantly higher when the control dimension was separated into personal control and external control. For example, if a student says s/he failed an exam as a result of insufficient studying (something within *his/her* control), this may be perceived as an attribution of personal control. If, however, a student says s/he failed an exam as a result of the teacher not providing ample time (something within *others'* control), this may be perceived as an attribution of external control.

Perceived personal control may have particular relevance for targets of discrimination since believing that being discriminated against is within one's personal control may likely lead

to psychological distress. For example, being racially discriminated against by the boss at work may lead to unnecessary anxiety and/or low feelings of self-worth for people who believe they have personal control over occurrences of discrimination. Furthermore, one might speculate that people who make personally controllable attributions (high perceived personal control) behave differently from those who make personally uncontrollable attributions (low perceived personal control) in situations of discrimination. For example, a customer who believes being accused of shoplifting was within *his* control may respond to racism and discrimination by retreating or ignoring the discrimination, while the customer who believes the situation was not within his control may respond by actively challenging or confronting the situation. As discussed earlier, how much personal control adolescents have over the occurrence of racial discrimination may directly influence their behavior in such situations. As a result, understanding how personal control influences responses in situations of racial discrimination may add to our understanding of responses to discrimination.

The Present Study

In sum, people of color frequently are targets of discrimination. An overwhelming percentage of ethnic minority adolescents (98%) (Wakefield, 1997) express that they or their friends are likely to experience or have already experienced racial discrimination (Gary, 1995; Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Landrine & Klonoff, 1996; Mena, Padilla & Maldonado, 1987; Pincus, 1996; Wakefield & Hudley, 1997; Wolfe & Spencer, 1996). Furthermore, African Americans tend to experience the highest rates of racial discrimination across ethnic groups (Mont-Reynaud, 1990; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). Understanding the behaviors of targets of discrimination will

be beneficial in helping young people deal with discriminatory treatment. This is especially important since developmental psychologists have not yet clearly specified the precise mechanism involved in coping strategies and responses to discrimination used by ethnic minority adolescents.

The objective of the present study is to investigate ethnic minority adolescents' responses to acts of racial discrimination as a function of audience presence, and attributions of personal control.

Audience presence. It is clear that the presence of others often influences behavior or performance on a task (Goffman, 1959; Zajonc, 1968). Much research has clearly found that individuals are often ultra-conscious of their behavior in the presence of others due to issues of self-presentation. As a result, it is likely that adolescents accompanied by someone during an act of racial discrimination will respond differently than if he is alone. This study hypothesizes that individuals who are unaccompanied during an act of discrimination will respond differently from individuals who are accompanied by someone (either a same-sex friend or a cross-sex friend).

Social psychology literature also suggests that individuals' behavior differs as a function of the gender of the person they are with. For example, men and women's eating behavior is often affected by the gender of an accompanying person (Mori, Chaiken, & Pliner, 1987; Pliner & Chaiken, 1990) which is a likely a result of self-presentational motives operating in cross-sex interactions (Dolgin & Minowa, 1997; Leary, Nezlek, Downs, Radford-Davenport, et al., 1994). Therefore, this study also hypothesizes that adolescents who are with a cross-sex friend (romantic friend) will respond to racial discrimination differently from adolescents with a non-

romantic friend (best friend). No specific directional hypotheses are presented, as this study is the first exploration of audience effects in individuals' responses to racial discrimination.

Attributions. Perceived personal control may have particular relevance for targets of discrimination since believing that being discriminated against is within one's personal control may likely lead to psychological distress. For example, being racially discriminated against by the boss at work may lead to unnecessary anxiety and/or low feelings of self-worth for people who believe they have personal control over occurrences of discrimination. Furthermore, one might speculate that people who make personally controllable attributions (high perceived personal control) behave differently from those who make personally uncontrollable attributions (low perceived personal control) in situations of discrimination. For example, a customer who believes being accused of shoplifting was within *his* control may respond to racism and discrimination by retreating or ignoring the discrimination, while the customer who believes the situation was not within his control may respond by actively challenging or confronting the situation. As discussed earlier, how much personal control adolescents have over the occurrence of racial discrimination may directly influence their behavior in such situations. As a result, understanding how personal control influences responses in situations of racial discrimination may add to our understanding of responses to discrimination. No specific directional hypotheses are presented, as this study is the first exploration of audience effects in individuals' responses to racial discrimination.

Gender. Relatively little research has investigated people's responses to racial discrimination (Feagin, 1991; Parrillo, 1985; Phinney & Chavira, 1995; Wakefield, 1997).

Behavioral responses often differ as a function of gender (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974; Mendoza, 1981; Patterson & McCubbin, 1987; Schonert-Reichl & Muller, 1996). Researchers have consistently found that male and female adolescents use different coping strategies (Broderick, 1998; Copeland & Hess, 1995; Frydenberg & Lewis, 1993; Mendoza, 1981; Patterson & McCubbin, 1987; Schonert-Reichl & Muller, 1996). As a result, one might expect that adolescents' responses to discrimination differ as a function of gender. Since research in this area is relatively limited, and exploratory in nature, these introductory studies will examine responses to racial discrimination separately by gender. The present study will focus entirely on male responses to racial discrimination.

METHOD

Participants and Setting

Two hundred male African American students (N = 250) in ninth through twelfth grades enrolled in an urban multiethnic high school in Southern California were recruited to participate in this study. All participants were fluent in English.

The student body of the school is composed of 47% African American students, 53% Latina/o students, and the remaining 0.5% spread evenly across American Indian, Asian American, Pacific Islander and White ethnic groups; 74% of the student body receives free or reduced priced meals (California Department of Education, 1997).

Instruments

Discrimination Response Index II (DRI-II). The Discrimination Response Index (Wakefield, 1997) was revised and designed for this study to measure three response types to acts of discrimination (passive, active, and hostile) in one particular situation (at a shopping mall) with three audience conditions (when the target is alone, with his best friend, and with a romantic friend). The instrument consists of three hypothetical scenarios of acts of racial discrimination against African Americans who are shopping at stores inside a shopping mall. The scenarios illustrate African American young men as targets of discrimination while shopping at a store in a mall. In each story, a security guard accuses a young African American male of stealing something. The scenarios are accompanied by 5 x 7 color photographs of African American and European American males illustrating the actors in each of the stories. These photographs were shown to participants as they read the stories. Targets of discrimination were always portrayed by male African American adolescents; perpetrators of discrimination were always portrayed by male European Americans. Scenarios vary by who is accompanying the target of discrimination. The target is either (a) alone, (b) with his best friend, or (c) with a romantic friend. These audience conditions were equally interchanged between the three scenarios in order to avoid a scenario effect. The participants rate "how likely" they would react with each of the three response types (passive, active, and hostile) in each of the three scenarios on a scale of 1-8. One represents a highly unlikely behavioral response while 8 represents a highly likely behavioral response.

Two types of scores were derived from this instrument: (a) overall response type scores (each response type summed across scenarios), and (b) passive, active, and hostile scores for each scenario. Each participant will receive twelve scores. The overall response type scores (three scores) will represent each response type summed across all three scenarios (one for passive responses, one for active responses, one for hostile responses). The remaining nine scores will represent the individual item responses (response type x audience present).

Overall response type scores represent an individual's likelihood to engage in Phinney and Chavira's (1995), Wakefield's (1997) and Wakefield and Hudley's (1997) responses to racial discrimination (passive, active, and hostile) across multiple situations. These scores determine an individual's preferred response to discrimination.

Individual item scores rate specific response types as a function of who is present in the scenario (whether he is alone, with his best friend, or with a romantic friend). These scores allow one to investigate whether the likelihood of response varies as a function of the audience present.

Pilot testing of this instrument with African American, Latina/o, and Asian American high school and college students revealed that the hypothetical scenarios had high ecological validity as realistic situations of racial discrimination. Wakefield, Hudley, and Delgadillo (1999) found that African American and Latina/o high school and university students described each scenario as an act of racial discrimination. Ninety-one percent of the participating students also reported that this situation, or situations similar to these have occurred to them personally; 97% of the students reported that this situation, or situations similar to these have occurred to

someone they personally know; and 99% of the students reported that they have heard of this situation, or situations similar to these happening to someone.

Revised Causal Dimension Scale (CDS-II). The Revised Causal Dimension Scale (McAuley, Duncan, & Russell, 1992) (See Appendix B) is a 12-item measure that assesses the dimensions of stability, locus, personal control, and external control. Perceived personal control was assessed using the 3-item personal control subscale of the Revised Casual Dimension Scale. Items are rated on a nine-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*. Ratings are summed and divided by 3 to obtain a mean perceived personal control score. Scores range from 1 to 9. Low scores indicate that the individual has low perceived personal control, while high scores indicate high perceived personal control.

For this study, the continuous variable of causal attributions of perceived personal control was re-coded into a categorical dichotomous variable with two levels: controllable and uncontrollable. Mean scores for causal attributions of perceived personal control ranged from one to nine. Mean perceived personal control scores greater than 5.00 were coded as attributions of high perceived personal control; scores less than or equal to 5.00 were coded as attributions of low perceived personal control.

Previous studies have demonstrated reasonable reliability coefficients (Cronbach, 1951; Nunnally, 1978) for the personal control dimension, $\alpha = .79$ (McAuley, Duncan, & Russell, 1992).

The CDS-II was designed for and previously used with university student populations; therefore, the language and format of the CDS-II was adapted to make the instrument appropriate

for high school student populations. The language was simplified to vocabulary words high school students are likely to be familiar with. For example, "the cause is unstable" to "the cause of this situation is temporary (does not always happen)." The format of the measure was altered by physically spreading out the items on the page to make it easier to read and by providing instructions that could be followed by high school students. The revised measure was pilot tested with a sample of high school and university students and was found to have a reasonable reliability coefficient for the personal control dimension, $\alpha = .86$ (Wakefield, Hudley, & Delgadillo, 1999).

Procedure

Groups of 5-7 students for whom consent was received were seen during two 20-minute sessions apart from their regular classroom. Students completed the Discrimination Response Index II (DRI-II) and the Causal Dimension Scale (CDS-II) (McAuley, Duncan, & Russell, 1992). The Discrimination Response Index II was given at one session; the Causal Dimension Scale was given at the other sitting. The ordering of the sessions was counterbalanced. Before completing the Discrimination Response Index, students were told,

> "You will be asked to read stories and answer questions of what *you* might do in situations that many students have said actually happened to them. There are no right or wrong answers. I am interested in hearing about your opinions and what you would do if you were in each of these situations. Please answer as honestly as you can and think about what *you* really would do. You don't have to answer any question that you feel uncomfortable with. If you have any questions at any time, please raise your hand."

During the administration of the Discrimination Response Index II, three hypothetical scenarios of acts of racial discrimination against African Americans while they are shopping at stores in a shopping mall were read aloud to participants. As the stories were being read, 5 x 7 photographs depicting the actors in each of the stories were shown to the students. The photographs were head-shots of the actors. The photographs were used so that the students can recognize the race of the actors in the stories so they can identify the situations as racial discrimination. After reading to the stories and seeing the photographs, participants will circle how likely they would endorse passive, active, and hostile responses to each scenario. Participants will also have the opportunity to respond in a free-response format "why they believe each situation occurred."

Immediately after completing the free response questions on why they believed each situation occurred. The principal investigator read the instructions of the instrument aloud and did a sample question of the measure with the participants. Participants also completed the Causal Dimension Scale (CDS-II). The participants were told to read each statement on the measure and decide how much they agree with the statements.

RESULTS

The effects of audience and perceived personal control on individuals' hostile responses were examined using a repeated-measures analysis of variance with perceived personal control as the grouping factor and audience as the within-subject repeated factor. The dependent variable for each repeated-measures analysis of variance was the hostile responses score.

The repeated-factor of audience presence has three levels: alone, with a same-sex friend, and with a cross-sex friend. A repeated-measures design was appropriate because each participant has a hostile responses score ***for each audience condition*** (alone, with a same-sex friend, with a cross-sex friend).

In order to test the hypotheses (a) that individuals who are unaccompanied during an act of discrimination will respond differently from individuals who are accompanied by someone (either a same-sex friend or a cross-sex friend) *and* (b) that adolescents who are with a cross-sex friend (romantic friend) will respond to racial discrimination differently from adolescents with a non-romantic friend (best friend), pairwise comparisons between levels of the repeated-factor (audience) were utilized to find where, if any, differences lie.

The repeated measures analysis of variance for hostile responses revealed a two-way interaction of audience condition X perceived personal control ($F[2, 161] = 4.29$, $p < .01$). When either a male or female friend was present, level of perceived personal control was relevant in understanding hostile responses to racial discrimination. Since complex interactions between audience condition and level of perceived personal control emerged, the hypotheses predicting main effects were not supported. Rather, specific findings of the complex interactions are reported below (See Figure 1).

Perceived personal control in situations of racial discrimination influenced hostile responses when either a male or female friend was present. In situations where someone was present (male and female conditions), low perceived personal control participants were more likely to endorse hostile responses. In post-hoc analyses ($p < .01$), the combined mean of male

and female audience conditions revealed that low personal control participants (M = 4.05) were more likely than high control participants (M = 3.14) to endorse hostile responses.

Being in the presence of someone (a male or female friend) impacted hostile responses in situations of discrimination as a function of perceived personal control. Post-hoc analyses ($p <$ .01) revealed, for low perceived personal control adolescents, the combined mean of male and female friend audience conditions (M = 4.05) was higher than the mean of the alone condition (M = 3.14). In contrast, for high perceived control adolescents, post-hoc analyses ($p < .05$) revealed that the combined mean of male and female friend audience conditions (M = 3.19) was lower than the mean of the alone condition (M = 3.74).

DISCUSSION

The hypothesis was partially supported. Audience condition and perceived personal control may be related to one's interpretation of racial discrimination and issues of self-presentation and impression management.

Interpretation of Discriminatory Treatment

Consistent with the social psychology literature, understanding how people make sense of situations is key to understanding behavior. In situations of discrimination, targets of discrimination likely understand and think about "why" they were discriminated against differently.

Perceived personal control appears to have the most relevance in hostile responses to racial discrimination. Recall that in situations when a female accompanied the target of discrimination, low perceived personal control adolescents were more likely than high perceived

personal control adolescents to endorse hostile responses to racial discrimination. One possible explanation for this difference between low and high control individuals may be a result of their perceived responsibility (Weiner, 1995) in situations of racial discrimination. In situations of discrimination, people who feel that racial discrimination is something for which they have low perceived personal control over and are *not* personally responsible (i.e., discrimination is "society's fault") may be more likely than those who have high perceived personal control and *do* feel personally responsible (e.g., I must have acted suspiciously when I was shopping) to become angry toward perpetrators of discrimination. This anger may lead to hostile responses in situations of racial discrimination . As a result, individuals with low perceived responsibility may be more willing to respond in a hostile manner since they likely see discrimination as a societal issue, unrelated to their personal traits or characteristics. Conversely, high perceived personal control individuals may feel they are personally responsible for being discriminated against and as a result may be less likely to experience anger and display a hostile response toward the perpetrator (See Figure 2).

Self-presentation Strategies among Adolescents

As previously discussed in the review of the literature, considerable evidence suggests that the mere presence of other observers, and the relationship of the observers present in a given situation may influence an individual's behavior (Asch, 1955; Schachter, 1959; Zajonc, 1965). Among adolescents, we know that drawing attention to oneself is often perceived negatively (Junoven & Murdock, 1995). As a result, in the presence of women, high perceived control adolescents may be less likely to endorse hostile responses to discriminatory treatment because

drawing unnecessary attention during adolescence may risk being perceived negatively by female peers. Males who are seen as weak may also be perceived negatively by females.

Yet another explanation for why low perceived control adolescents in situations with a woman present were more likely to endorse a hostile response may be directly related to the development of a masculine gender-role identity. Gender-role identity is the process during adolescence of defining oneself along gendered lines (Bem, 1974). A masculine gender-role identity consists of defining oneself with traits such as physical strength, assertiveness and independence (Bem, 1974). "Masculine" traits (i.e., assertiveness, independence, physical strength) are likely associated with hostile responses to racial discrimination. In fact, hostile responses may help adolescents avoid being perceived as weak—the opposite of a strong masculine gender-role identity. Since male adolescents are in the process of developing gender-role identity, adolescents with an achieved ethnic identity may feel that withdrawing or ignoring discriminatory treatment threatens their masculinity.

Limitations

This study had a number of limitations as a result of the instruments used in the research. One major limitation of this study is the inherent problem of hypothetical scenario instruments. The key limitation of a hypothetical scenario instrument is the difference between a reported belief and the actual behavior in which the individual would engage. An individual's beliefs of what s/he would do may not be congruent with his/her actual behavior in a given situation. Hartshorne & May (1930) examined cheating behavior in two groups of individuals: those who defined themselves as honest and those who defined themselves as dishonest. Their findings

revealed that individuals' reported honesty and actual behavior when faced with an exam (whether or not they cheat on examinations) were not highly correlated. In this case, hypothetical scenarios may be tapping individuals' beliefs of what they *might* do in a given situation rather than what they *actually* do in a situation. Kolhberg & Candee (1984) and Blasi (1980) found a relatively high correlation between moral beliefs and moral behavior in individuals at high stages of moral reasoning. However, since a paucity of research exists in the area of racial discrimination, and since this is a difficult and sensitive topic of study, using hypothetical scenarios may be one way to initially explore adolescents thinking about racial discrimination.

Another limitation of the Discrimination Response Index was that the hypothetical scenarios were not school-focused (e.g., issues of students discriminated by teachers or administrators, discrimination by peers at school). School-focused scenarios may be useful since they may help gain further insight into successful peer-peer and student-adult interactions at school, and school hours represent a substantial portion of an adolescent's day. Perhaps more importantly, school-focused scenarios may yield significant information, since positive experiences with teachers, administrators, and peers have consistently shown a dramatic impact on the school success of students. Furthermore, as schools become more culturally diverse, understanding and enhancing inter-ethnic and inter-racial relationships between students is of paramount importance if we are to maximize the benefits of culturally pluralistic settings.

Implications

The findings from this research have many implications for parents and school personnel

in multiethnic settings. As our children's environments become increasingly diverse, young people must be able to successfully interact with people from backgrounds different from their own. However, racial and ethnic discrimination is a thriving part of the American macroculture. Thus, ethnic minority children must be able to adaptively deal with situations of racist behavior and discrimination because they will likely face discrimination during some part of their childhood and/or schooling.

It is clear that young people encounter discrimination in their daily lives (Feagin, 1991; Kailin, 1999) and that in many cases discrimination is not handled appropriately (e.g., Santa Barbara News-Press, 1996a, 1996b). Unfortunately in many cases, teachers have ignored racist behavior in their classrooms (e.g., Santa Barbara News-Press, 1996a, 1996b; Kailin, 1999). For example, in Santa Barbara, California, a teacher chose to postpone taking any action whatsoever after being told that an illustration of a lynching had been left on an African American student's desk. Teachers' lack of action is likely due to the low comfort level the dominant culture holds toward talking about issues of race, ethnicity and culture in our society. In fact, most White Americans actively deflect conversations away from issues of race and ethnicity as a result of this lack of comfort (Fine, 1997). However, failing to address racist behavior may be particularly unhelpful for the positive psychological adjustment of ethnic minority youth. Targets of racism may feel that they have done something to warrant the racist behavior or targets may sense the apathy American society holds towards ameliorating racial and ethnic inequality when teachers fail to actively confront issues of racism and discrimination. As a result, more attention needs to be focused towards how schools and school officials deal with situations of racial discrimination.

Teachers, staff, and administrators should be trained to counsel students who are targets of racial slurs as well as to deal with perpetrators of the remarks. Teachers and administrators should *not* focus blame or causality towards the target of discrimination. Instead, more emphasis should be placed on providing opportunities for dialogues on issues of race and ethnicity between students and school personnel (Lawrence, 1998; Tatum, 1997). For example, after an instance of racist behavior in a classroom, a class discussion in which students communicate their feelings about the incident might be a helpful first step in better understanding individuals feelings and emotions and to ultimately promoting positive future inter-cultural contact. Establishing clear protocols for dealing with situations of racism and discrimination as well as raising general awareness of racism may be two ways schools can decrease racial discrimination in children's lives. Perhaps more importantly, creating dialogues may lead children to feel more comfortable and have more "tools" to verbally respond to discrimination when it does occurs.

Some evidence suggests that university and college students who have taken anti-racism and cultural sensitivity courses have become better able to interact successfully with people from backgrounds different from their own (Tatum, 1997). As a result, school personnel should implement and integrate multicultural sensitivity training and anti-racist curricula in students' coursework. Since schools are the venue where young people most often interact with people from different backgrounds, implementing structured programs to examine issues such as race and ethnicity will likely improve students inter-cultural communication skills. This will lead to more successful interactions between people from different racial and ethnic groups.

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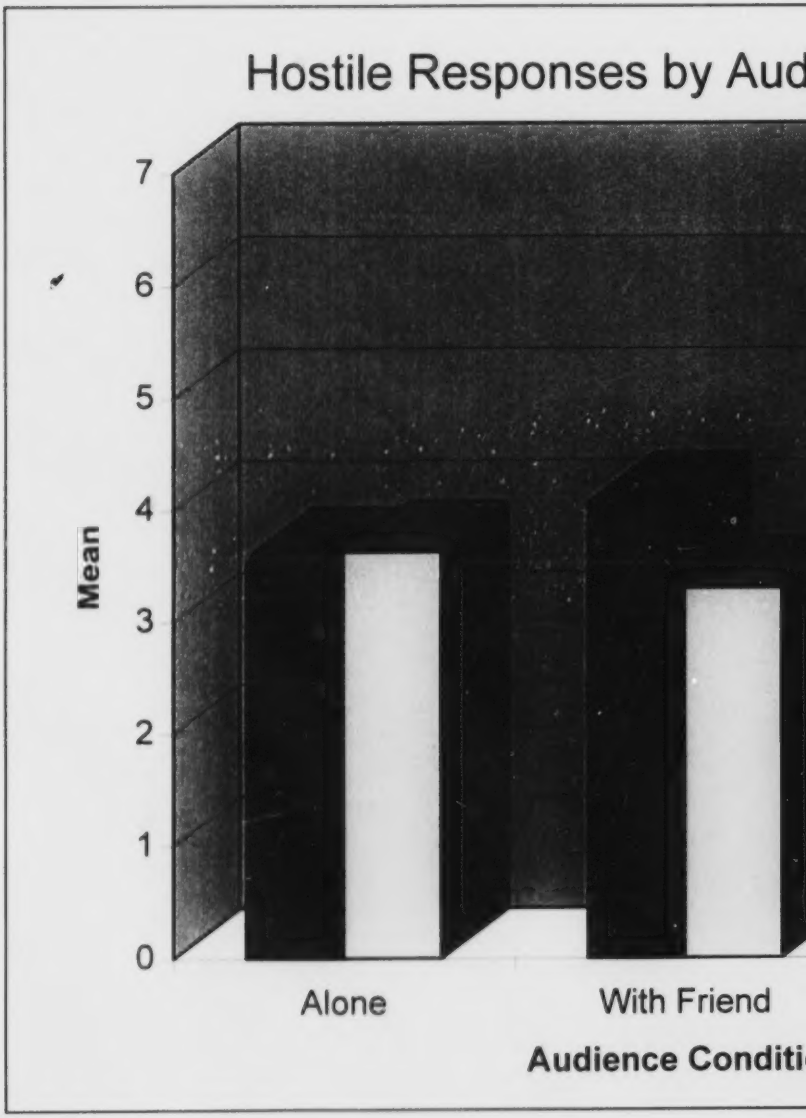
Figure 1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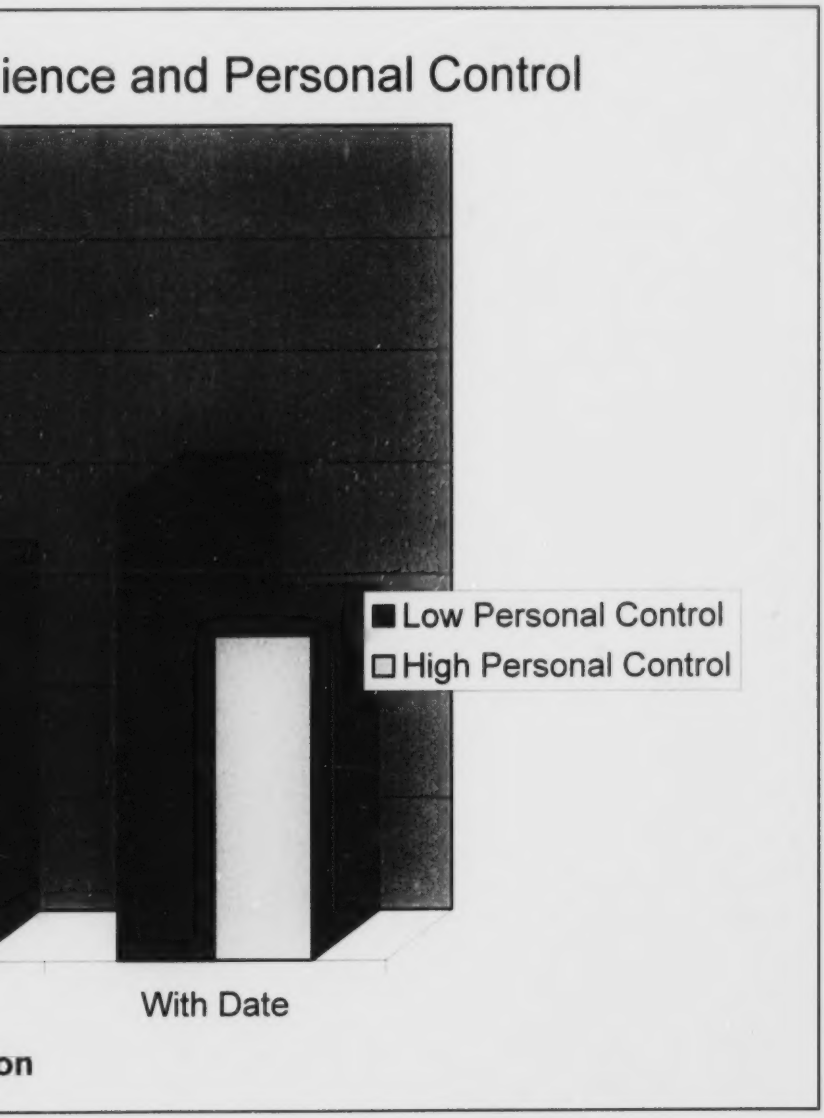
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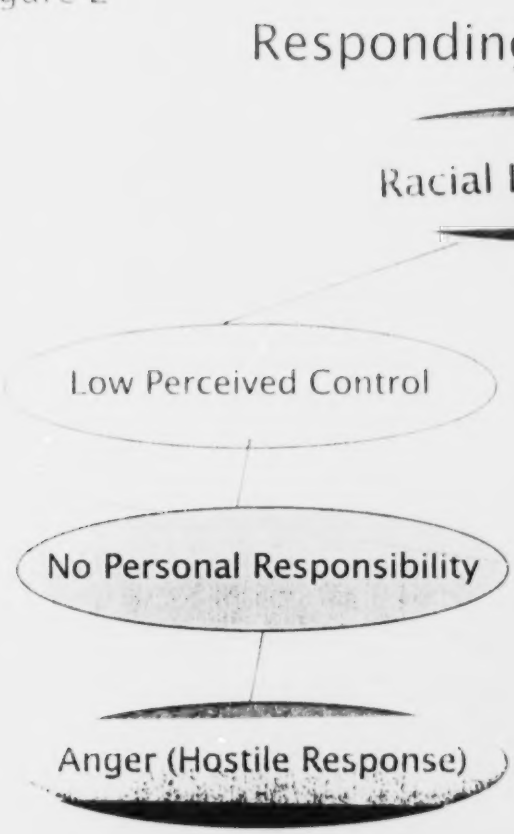

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